was also diverted to the plantations being established in the Sangara area under the Ex-Servicemen's Credit Scheme.[1]

The increased rate of development after the war, a re-orientation in policy towards individual rather than communal holdings, the allocation of the majority of settlement blocks under the ex-servicemen's scheme to Papuans and New Guineans, and the establishment of the Higaturu Local Government Council in 1956 and the Oro Bay Council in 1963 have probably all served to transmit to the Orokaiva a sense of participation in the development process. At the same time, incentives for the acquisition of cash have grown with the proliferation of trade stores (including over twenty owned by Orokaiva men) and the establishment of companies seeking local share capital, while interest in the sale of produce has increased with improvement in communications and with immediate cash payments for such sales.

An important factor in the growth of interest in cash cropping has been the implementation of a variety of land tenure and marketing schemes, directed entirely towards the indigenous producers and in part initiated by them. Since 1957 the Higaturu council has been encouraging the registration of individual cash crop holdings,[2] the Yega people at Gona have begun subdividing clan land into permanent holdings, while similar developments within the context of the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 have already been initiated.[3] There are now ten co-operatives operating in the sub-district, predominantly along the coast; most are concerned primarily with marketing copra and providing retail stores, but this also includes the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society (OCGS), which was established in 1962 to operate a factory previously erected by the Higaturu Local Government Council and to purchase coffee from the growers.[4] By the end of 1964 subscriptions by villagers amounted to $7,010, held in $10 shares, 65 per cent of this total having been raised in the first six months of operation. The society paid its first dividend of 5 per cent in November 1964.

In 1963 an expatriate planter established a local trading company, Oro Ltd, comprising three Papuans on its board of six directors and seeking local share capital in minimum holdings of $5. Again

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[1] See Howlett 1965, for a detailed description.

[2] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-93.

[3] Each with varying degrees of success. The Higaturu scheme, for instance, fell into abeyance in 1964 due to a shortage of staff capable of surveying the holdings for which registration had been requested, as well as its doubtful legal validity.

[4] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:94-6.

438 consisted in the barter of shells, lime and wooden and clay pots
[437] from the coast in return for areca and feathers from inland. Clay pots, shells and feathers are now rarely traded and the coastal people hawk their produce, mainly smoked fish and lime, around the villages and at the markets for cash.

433 All the people's subsistence needs may be produced within the village or by kinsmen or friends in other, essentially similar, villages. The exchange system serves both as a form of group security, in that the aged or infirm or people with gardens temporarily out of production can rely on kinsmen or friends for support, and a means of exercising authority, through the manipulation of the flow of goods and services. Strictly speaking, however, there is no necessary dependence on the production or distribution decisions made by others. In the case of cash and storebought goods, the reverse applies. These originate outside the village economy and in most cases outside the country. Whereas, given the limits of time, resources and convention, a villager may produce as much of any garden or forest item as he desires, he cannot affect the quantities of cash or store goods available, or the rate (through wage and price levels) at which they may be obtained.

(b) The cash sector

434 The main sources of cash for Orokaiva villagers are the sale of
[443] cultivated produce, the sale of labour and remittances from kin in employment elsewhere. Since 1959, an additional source has been the ownership and operation of small stores, but so far only about twenty-five men (including some indigenes from other districts) have turned to trading. The relative significance of each source varies greatly from household to household within a village and within the sub-district. All occur irregularly and are highly unpredictable in the level of returns.

244 (i) Cash cropping. The cash crops of coffee, cocoa, rubber and coconuts occur in either individually-owned or communal holdings, the former under one of a number of land tenure systems, including customary tenure, the Higaturu Land Registration Scheme and the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance. Individual holdings tend to be small, frequently less than 0.5 acres in size and containing less
[578] than 250 trees. The communal holdings are larger, often exceeding ten acres, but, in some cases, they are not worked because of disputes over rights to trees and land. In other cases, they are operated by individuals on a rota system. Plantings are rarely weeded or trees pruned. This applies particularly to the communal holdings, where individuals do not accept responsibility for maintenance. In the older rubber and coconut plantings many of the
[433] trees are self-sown. As well as lacking maintenance, in most cases

245 Pods are opened under the trees and the wet beans sold to the Popondetta Cocoa Fermentary Ltd, whose buyers operate along all roads in the cocoa areas between the coast and the Kumusi River. Where it would be uneconomic for the company to buy cocoa, as among the Aiga north of the Kumusi, DASF is the buying agent. Cocoa trees produce throughout the year but sales fall off during the wet season.

249 Rubber is sold as coagulum to a local planter who provides spouts, buckets and tools for incising the bark. A halved coconut shell is commonly used for receiving the latex. Two or three hours after the tree has been tapped, the latex is transferred to wooden boxes, hollowed logs or buckets and allowed to coagulate naturally. Until the inception of the Ombisusu rubber smallholders' factory in mid-May 1964, village rubber production in the Saiho area was restricted to a radius of five miles around the only buying agency at Awala, due to the necessity of carrying the rubber on foot to the factory. Rubber trees produce throughout most of the year, although there is a 'wintering' period of three months from August to October.

245 Copra can be sun-dried but most producers build a drying shed either of local materials or of corrugated iron left after the second world war. A shed may belong to an individual or a group and the drying system also may be individual or co-operative. Several hundred nuts are needed to make copra production worthwhile.[1] The nuts are halved and the fleshy interiors placed on a rack above a low fire kept almost smoke-free by using dry wood or discarded shells. After about a week, the copra is dry enough to be bagged [435] and sold at one of the co-operative buying agencies at Killerton, Buna and Oro Bay on the coast. The price is determined by the Copra Marketing Board and varies slightly with quality.

438 (ii) Marketing. In addition to the long-distance trading of subsistence produce by coastal people, the inland people are also [443] beginning to trade meat (pig, wallaby, etc.), smoked fish, areca, lime and locally grown tobacco for cash with other villagers, either by hawking or in the markets held regularly at Popondetta and Saiho.[2] Vegetables also are sold in the markets. At Popondetta a considerable variety of fresh vegetables, fruits and meat is bought by both indigenous and expatriate residents. Most vegetables

[433]

[1] At Inonda there is an average of fifteen coconut trees per household producing an estimated 450 nuts per household per year. Assuming that a household uses one nut daily for cooking or drinking, this leaves less than 100 nuts per household for copra.

[2] See Dakeyne 1965:102-9, for a description of Popondetta market. Although sales of pigmeat in particular to villagers are increasing, the practice is deplored by the older people who have little or no cash in hand.

461 Contracting and casual employment near the village are the most popular forms of paid work, since it is possible to maintain subsistence production and even cash crops at the same time.

(iv) Remittances. Remittances are closely related to the number of absentees. Few Orokaiva have been eligible for skilled work because of the limited educational opportunities available until very recently.[1] Those in employment almost invariably see themselves as being only temporarily absent from their villages[2] and therefore feel the need to maintain kinship links and settle obligations. They normally return to their villages for leave and, if married, may leave their families in the village in the care of relatives, since few employers provide married accommodation.

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431 Single remittances are frequently of the order of $10 in cash or comprise gifts of clothing, tobacco, transistor radios and similar storebought goods beyond the financial reach of most villagers. The recipients say that they would like to reciprocate with gifts of food, particularly taro, but are precluded from it by the problems of posting or air-freighting heavy and perishable goods.

443 (v) Other sources of income. Since Papuans became eligible to hold licences to trade in 1959, several Orokaiva men have established trade stores. Their stocks are fairly limited and include rice, tinned foods, sugar, tobacco and small household goods. Since 1963, most have obtained their supplies from Oro Ltd and many have shares in this company. A number of the stores have experienced operational difficulties on account of the pressures of kin for credit or special favours, but some of the Orokaiva owners in 1964 were operating at a profit. One such store was established in Inonda in 1963.

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[438]

525 Gambling with cards is illegal but is nevertheless popular. Orokaiva villagers play among themselves for areca or matches, although they prefer to play for cash against plantation or road labourers and settlers. Villagers sometimes win large sums in this way.[3] A winner is usually expected to return some of his gains to

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[1] Dakeyne (1965:94), however, found a high proportion of skilled men amongst the Yega people, who have had the longest educational experience in the Northern District, with a school at Gona since 1910.

[2] Only two of the absent Sivepe men had not sent presents home for several years. One committed suicide in 1964; the other stated categorically that he had no intention of returning to the village, but in fact did return on leave at the end of 1965.

[762]

[3] A Hohota man won $60 in one session with the Girua block settlers and Dakeyne (1966b:37) cites a case of a Yega man winning $86 from plantation labourers.

434 and the remainder in either shares or savings accounts. Four of
454 the eleven households had no monetary assets at this time, while six had no cash in hand.[1]

Table 4:5

Sivepa: monetary assets of households, January 1965
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares OCCS	Shares Oro Ltd	Clan savings account	Total
1	24.00	-	10.00	16.00	-	50.00
2	15.00	-	-	20.00	-	35.00
3	-	8.50	-	10.00	-	18.50
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	10.00	-	10.00	-	20.00
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	8.00	-	10.00	10.00	no data	28.00
14	5.10	-	-	-	-	5.10
15	4.00	20.00	10.00	-	18.00	52.00
Total	56.10	38.50	30.00	66.00	18.00	208.60

454 Savings accounts were not popular on account of their low rate of interest; five members of the sample had previously held accounts but closed them, while only one (the head of household 3) deposited any money during the survey period. Shares in the local companies,
[546 the OCCS and Oro Ltd were much preferred. The latter conducted an intensive capital-seeking campaign during 1964 with marked success, and the fact that it caters primarily for the indigenous community (operating its own trade stores and supplying privately-owned ones and in mid-1964 opening a cinema in Popondetta) aided its popularity. However, its failure to declare a dividend that year resulted in considerable disappointment. The OCCS declared a dividend of 5 per cent.

614 Two members of Timmu clan had contributed to a clan savings account which was supported mainly by clansmen in another village,
454 Soroputa. In 1964 it was decided to use the funds to establish a
443 trade store in that village. Even if implemented it is doubtful whether this store would be profitable, since Steamships Trading

[1] Coffee is not bearing at this time of year and only one man works the rubber plantation at a time, so that little cash was entering the village when the inventory was made.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

Company already operates a trade store with a liquor licence close to the village.

(e) Other household property

The inventory of property held by the eleven households was divided into 'non-traditional property' and 'property derived from the subsistence sector' (see Tables 4:6 and 4:7). These inventories reveal that, among non-traditional goods, the only items held by nine or more households are axes, bush knives, petos (for cutting grass), blankets, towels, suitcases etc., various outer garments, and mirrors. Clay pots, tapa cloths, combs, lime gourds and string bags are the main items of property derived from the subsistence sector. In addition, all households possess sleeping-mats either made locally from pandanus leaves or bought in a store. Although eight of the households possess hurricane lamps, they seldom have kerosene. Many of the tools were obtained during the second world war or distributed by the Administration after the eruption of Mt Lamington so that the people could re-establish their gardens.

Table 4:7

Sivepe: household property derived from the subsistence sector, November 1964

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
Tools											
Hunting net	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Wooden trough*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Household											
Clay pot	2	2	-	1	-	3	6	1	2	2	2
Gourd (water)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Personal											
Sleeping-mat	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	4	2	2	1	-	12	5	4	8	1
Comb	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	2
Bamboo pipe	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
Lime gourd	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	2	3	4
String bag	3	11	3	4	-	4	6	8	10	5	2
Drum	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Di and hambo**	-	20	10	9	-	5	2	6	9	-	18

* For fermenting coffee.

** Di are ornaments made from feathers and beaks of birds; hambo are shell ornaments. Items made from trade store beads or scrap metal, etc. are excluded.

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Plate 11. Taro, pigmeat, areca, rice and tinned fish on display in Inonda prior to presentation to a Girua settler.

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Plate 12. Stalls at Popondetta market, where people from Inonda frequently sell their produce.

'paddy' to food, prevented the conversion of the food to cash,[1] though it was quite suitable for village consumption as a supplementary food. In fact, imported white rice has now become an important 'status' food at feasts.

Rice continued to be grown for about a year after Rev. Clint's departure; small quantities were sold by the cupful but the income received would have been negligible. In 1951 the crop was attacked by a species of 'army worm' and on the recommendation of the District Agricultural Officer was destroyed. No further plantings were made and all co-operative agricultural activity lapsed.

By 1952 co-operative agricultural activity had ceased among the Yega. The death of Samuel Ungega (the only man in the co-operative who had any training in co-operative work and the only man capable of directing activities on a long-term basis), removed from the Gombe co-operative the main driving force.

The basic reason for the failure of the Christian co-operative seems to have been that Rev. Clint's aim was to produce a storable food crop whereas the Yega wanted a cash crop. The scheme was established on an inadequate business basis and with insufficient understanding of the people's deep-seated desires.

The modern co-operative and the extent of Yega participation

A subsequent co-operative, organized by the Administration and known as the Gona Villages Native Society Limited, came into being in May 1953. In that month share capital amounting to $2542 was repaid by the Administration to 332 members of the old Gona, Gombe (Iaga) and Garara co-operatives, most of whom immediately became shareholders, at a uniform $10 per share, in the new society. The new co-operative was to serve different purposes from the earlier ventures. There was to be no attempt whatever at communal production. Functions were to provide marketing facilities for the agricultural produce of individual members and to conduct a retail trading store.

Operations were begun in a store previously owned by A.H. Bunting Ltd on the Popondetta-Killerton Road, half a mile from Cape Killerton. Originally built from local materials and with a tin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

[1] Only brown unpolished rice is issued as rations to the Administration and plantation labour. The endosperm and much of the vitamin content are removed in the production of white rice, so that employers issuing white rice would have to supply additional vitamins, an uneconomic proposition.

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Gona villages co-operative store. Calculation of shareholders' rebates, December 1962.

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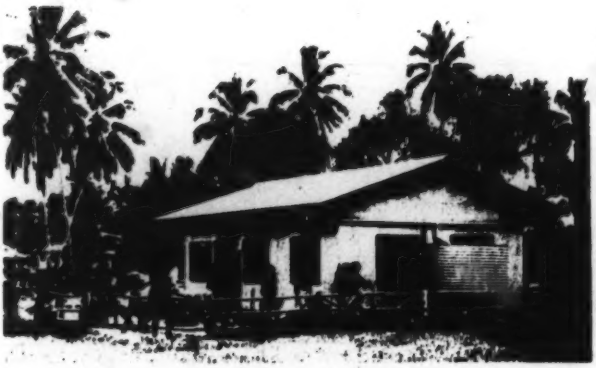

Gona villages co-operative store at Cape Killerton.

roof, the store had to be rebuilt by the co-operative in 1954, on a site adjacent to the original one; it was replaced by a permanent building, constructed on a new site only 100 yards from the wharf at Cape Killerton.

Marketing was of minor importance for the first ten years of the store's operation. Although there were numerous coconut palms in the shareholders' villages, the subsistence demands on them were heavy. Very little copra was offered for sale at the store before 1962 but production increased following a renewed emphasis on the crop by the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service. Copra turnover increased from nil in 1961-2 to $254 in 1962-3 and $1104 in 1963-4. There were at the time of this study few other cash crops in production but labour was an important source of cash.[1]

By contrast the store's retail function was rapidly established. It was for 11 years under the competent control of its first appointed manager, Mr Hankin Kombega, a local Yega man who was also secretary of the society. Within two and a half years from the start of retail trading, a net profit of over $2000 was disbursed to shareholders at the rate of $0.25 for every $2 spent. Only two other rebates were paid - in November 1960 and December 1962; the rebate which would normally have been paid about the end of 1957 or early 1958 was diverted to the construction of the new store. The average rebate paid to shareholders in December 1962 was approximately $3 per head and for Yega shareholders the average was $5.10 per head. Although these amounts may sound small, it should be borne in mind that the share basis was only $10 per head. In addition, the rate of rebate (in 1964, $0.10 per $1) was much higher than that paid by co-operative societies in Australia. The inducement offered by the rebate system did influence Yega purchasers in their choice of a retail store. Of a sample group of eight men questioned, two claimed that all their purchases were made at the co-operative store, four others estimated that over half their purchases were made there, one estimated less than half and one was uncertain.

The Gona Villages Native Society Ltd was managed by a chairman, secretary and board of nine directors, all Papuans, elected by the shareholders. The board met each month and its minutes were sent to the Co-operatives Inspector in Popondetta for approval or veto. If decisions were vetoed, adequate explanation was given.[2]

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[1] See p.65.

[2] An example was the rejection of a board decision to increase the purchase price of copra from 3½d. to 4d. per lb. Detailed costs were calculated to show the board that at 4 d. (3 cents) per lb. they would make too small a profit margin.

The finances of the store were under continual surveillance both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

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[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

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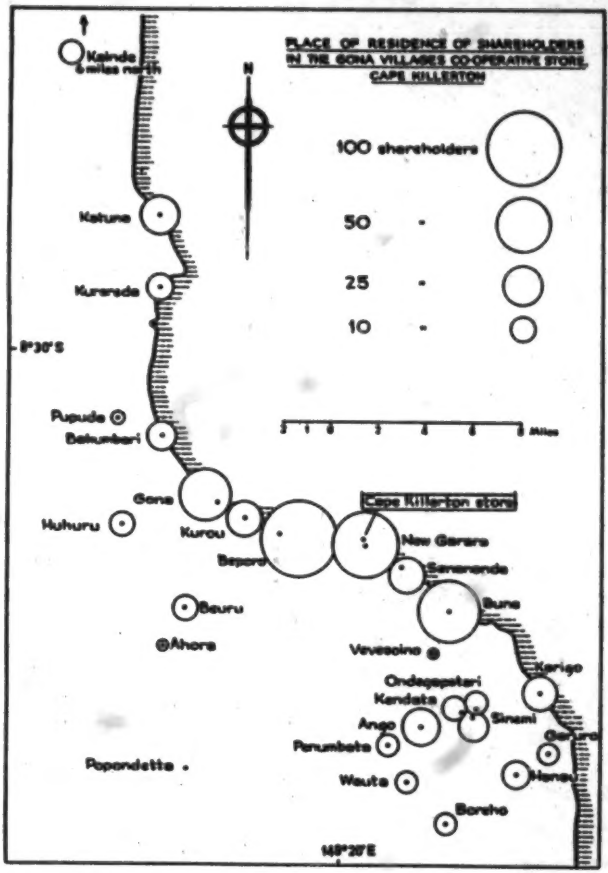

Note. At the time of joining the society Yega members lived in eight small villages but total Yega membership is shown as Beporo. In 1964 the Yega were dispersed throughout their territory in 17 localities varying in size from 30 houses to single homesteads.

purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa bosvo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

11: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1966 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23 Yega

many of whom moved their place of residence some three to five miles inland from the coastal villages along the Gona-Popondetta road during 1963-4, bringing them nearer to the larger Popondetta stores (see preceding article in this bulletin).

The rate of spending was remarkably constant throughout 1962 (the only year checked) except in December when 16 per cent of annual turnover was handled. Other months accounted for 6 per cent to 9 per cent of the annual turnover. The high figure for December was partly due to a shareholders' rebate being distributed on 12 December. Much of the money given in rebates was seen by the author to be immediately spent again in the store. Also, many men who worked outside the village returned for holidays at Christmas time with appreciable sums of money. Finally, the European custom of holding Christmas parties had been adopted by the Yega, resulting in increased spending on food.

The Yega were still predominantly subsistence cultivators with very limited financial resources. The co-operative store served a useful purpose in providing them with easily preservable proteins as well as a range of other foods, clothing, consumer goods, tools and domestic equipment.

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duction is at present so small that it is not difficult to take coffee or cocoa on foot and there is every indication that transport services in the roaded parts of the district will be available before output is greatly increased.

Coffee is sold to the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society in Popondetta and cocoa to private traders. Cash is paid at the time of sale and in the case of coffee a bonus is also paid at a later stage if profits permit. Marketing facilities cater adequately for present production.(1)

The situation regarding perishable products is quite different. The only outlet for fresh fruits and vegetables is at the Popondetta market which is held every Saturday. Market prices are low (by comparison with those at Port Moresby or other larger markets) and most commodities are oversupplied. When produce is taken to market it is not uncommon to have to bring some back or discard it. The villagers could supply considerable quantities of fresh vegetables (particularly taro) if the demand for it could be increased. There is usually a keen demand for fresh fish, pork and poultry, and the market could absorb much more than is at present supplied.(2)

Some implications for policy

The surplus of underemployed labour among those villagers who do not work for wages (and local wage labour will soon cease with the completion of construction contracts) can be used economically in primary production in two ways. Firstly people can be encouraged to plant additional cash crops. It has been shown that this is hindered at present in Inonda by problems of land tenure. If these were overcome an increase in productivity would probably result, though it would be limited by the present traditional demands on time.

Secondly, a small proportion of the more active and

(1) For details of the export market for New Guinea coffee and cocoa see Reserve Bank, 1962.

(2) A detailed study of the Popondetta market by R. B. Dalrymple is now being prepared for publication in this Bulletin.

125 The sample is necessarily small, and not representative, as there were at the time only three Orokaiva entrepreneurs who had established enterprises of any size without government help. The fourth entrepreneur differs from the others in that he established himself only after obtaining a resettlement block and a government loan.

472 The first indigenous entrepreneur known to engage full time in cash-cropping and trading in the Orokaiva area was Raymond Ogeren who was not himself an Orokaiva man. He was born about 1910 in Bako village near Tarakwaruru (on the coast between Samarai and Cape Killerton) where his father was leader of Kavamasia clan. After only a few months schooling he went to work in Bunting and Company's trade store at Samarai and later at Tufi, Buna and Misima Island; about 1939 he took over a store at Esahambo, about ten miles from Popondetta. Adjacent to the store he acquired a lease of 100 acres of land from the government. Using hired labour he planted eight acres of coffee and about 200 rubber trees before the Japanese invasion in 1942. Though Raymond returned to Esahambo after the invasion was repulsed, he did not remain long before [443] returning to Tarakwaruru where about 1952 he was instrumental in starting a community trade store. He has not returned to the Orokaiva area since then. Raymond is still remembered by almost all the older Orokaiva men, and is described by them as a generous man who they admired for his ability to run a business which up to that time they had thought was the exclusive prerogative of Europeans.

Personal experience of the entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs A, B and C were eldest sons (and the fathers of at least two were also eldest children). This may be significant as these three have been assisted in the development of their cash crop enterprises by younger brothers who do not require immediate cash payment. The fourth (D) was a youngest son but he did not undertake cash-cropping until he received a government loan.

The two older entrepreneurs, A and B, had no schooling, the younger two had limited elementary schooling. Formal education is [871] largely a function of age for schools have spread only slowly throughout the countryside. It is relevant that all four come from the less populous coastal area where contact has been longest, and none from the more populous inland.

[484] All four entrepreneurs have travelled much more widely than the average person of the district and since adolescence they have all lived mostly outside their village communities.[1] On their return

[1] They have all worked in other districts of Papua-New Guinea, while D has travelled to Australia, and in 1953 attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London.

Twelve Orokaiva traders

W.J. Oostermeyer
and
Joanne Gray

Introduction

This is a study of twelve Orokaiva entrepreneurs who have engaged in retail trading with varying degrees of success.[1] With only two exceptions, each owns a cash crop also. All except one are accessible by road from Popondetta. Although the sample is reasonably representative of Orokaiva entrepreneurs, quite different patterns may emerge among the few more isolated Orokaiva entrepreneurs or among the non-Orokaiva entrepreneurs in other parts of the district.

Each subject will be signified by an alphabetic letter according to the relative success of his store. The names of subjects can be made available for the purposes of further research.

Information on two subject, I and K, is incomplete and possibly inaccurate in some details. Both were away from home at the time, and the questions were answered by close relatives.

Language was a limiting factor. English was used with those who had an adequate command of it, but in a number of cases it was necessary to use an interpreter. Some meaning is always lost when communicating through an intermediary, and some entrepreneurs were reluctant to discuss some personal details with an interpreter. The evidence of this report is not substantial enough to permit definite conclusions, and those proffered must be regarded as tentative.

Group I comprises four traders who were not operating their stores at the time of the survey. Group II comprises another four whose stores had an average monthly turnover of less than $50.00. Group III comprises those with a turnover in excess of $50 a month.

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[1] The data in this paper were collected by W. Oostermeyer between December 1965 and February 1966. The material was written up by Mrs Joanne Gray.

245 By a fortuitous circumstance, the land selec-
423 ted was regarded by all Yega as communal
hunting land. It had belonged in the past to
[614] the Bowori clan, but when they were wiped
out in inter-parish warfare it had never been
[726] re-allocated among the remaining clans. No-
body, therefore, had to be compensated for
245 the loss. The Yega followed the DAO's advice
654 and over the next two years cut down a large
area of forest and planted shade trees and
657 young cocoa. In order to supervise this work,
the Agriculture Department built a small
village at Ononda to house a field instructor
and a group of trainees.

245 Many people came to believe that their
433 future prosperity lay in the development of
cash cropping. As the cocoa blocks were a long
361 walk (four miles) from their homes in Beporo
village, many decided to move inland; this
245 was a rational decision. An additional incen-
[484] tive was the development of the weekly market
[443] at Popondetta. With the rapid growth of the
town since 1960 there has been an increasing
361 demand for fresh fruit and vegetables. Many
443 Yega have taken advantage of this to sell sur-
438 plus produce for cash. Residence in the inland
settlements reduces the distance from the mar-
ket. By 1964, over half the population was
living in the new villages.

361 In addition to the dispersal of population,
178 the breakdown of traditional clan groupings
614 continued. The inland settlements are all
numerically smaller than Beporo and in all of
them the old homogeneity of clan membership
has disappeared. A man chose his house site
for convenience and access to his place of
work, rather than on the basis of his kinship
ties.

361 The most radical change occurred in the
establishment of Binjapada village. It is a
collection of fourteen households, spread for
over half a mile, along a narrow strip of grass-
361 land. Six of the occupants had been allocated
423 cocoa blocks in the near vicinity and four of
these men attempted to locate their houses on
the projected extensions of their cocoa blocks;
this represents the beginning of a dispersed
pattern of settlement foreign to the Yega tradi-
tion of clan-based clusters of dwellings. As no
boundary surveys were carried out, one man
located his house on his neighbour's block.
[P. 15-B]

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
439 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepa. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata [559] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Taupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepa village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepa, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepa is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garoubi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is 177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepa, 995

well as cash crops. The clan or village has overriding rights to the product only when a feast is being held; at such a time, people are encouraged to make extra plantings and are expected to donate what has been grown in excess to their own requirements. Such donations are represented as "voluntary" by informants.

The second type of organisation is that brought about by the Australian government's insistence on the planting of village quota's of rubber and coconut. Here, as I explained, an undivided area was planted by "all" members of the community, and the product appropriated by individuals on a sort of roster system. The land remains owned by the individual who made it available and it will revert to him when the trees die off. It is only the trees that are "communally" owned. *There is no traditional precedent for this kind of arrangement.*

The third type is that described on the preceding page. For this system, the selected plot of land is divided into sections called tane. This is common procedure also when subsistence crops are planted. Each tane is then lent to a person who will plant coffee or rubber there. This lending of tane is likewise traditional; a man described how his sister, after a quarrel, came back to Sivepe (she had married out) and he at once gave her a tane from his new garden to look after. The only difference, in the case of tree crops, is that the tane is lent out for a longer period, in fact as long as the borrower continues to harvest the trees (regularly). No new "communal" coffee plots of this sort have been established in Sivepe for many years; there was, however, such a plot allocated to rubber around 1964, as I have described. It was called a "company" and the agricultural officer told me that the government did not like supporting these "companies," preferring development of "individual holdings."

In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, where a rubber cooperative was set up, a new variant developed in 1967. This was also called a "company;" its main asset was a small factory for processing the rubber. The "company" was also allocated a plot of land, owned by a village man, where trees were planted by a work group, with the intention of tapping and selling the rubber for the benefit of the company--there was some talk of saving up for a truck to cart the rubber and other village products. In addition, villagers planted trees on their individual land and rubber harvested from that land would be processed at the factory and proceeds would go to the grower. This scheme met with some sturdy opposition from the agricultural officer. The fear of the administration was always: cargo cults, communism, fraudulent accounting. Four Sivepe men were actively occupied for some weeks on helping to build the rubber factory. They also contributed $10 membership fee. Members were drawn from all villages closely related to Sasembata.

Cooperative principles were also not infrequently followed in the setting up of trade stores. Rinaldi (1963) reported one such venture, involving 11 villages and centred on the Sasembata mission station. The savings seem to have totalled $60 from each of 12 clans,

474 plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establish-
443 ment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timuny clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

454 In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People
621 had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

471 The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular
439 arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Embi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affina.

571 Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-
[554] eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on
[177] two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted)
654 but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The
571 people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita were very much aware that the position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village
623 constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they